COMMON SCHOOL JOURNAL.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. XI.

BOSTON, OCT. 1, 1849.

NO. 19.

PREVENTIVE DISCIPLINE .- No. XIV.

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In pursuance of our promise to suggest a variety of methods by which children at school may be kept constantly and usefully employed, we have shown that Writing and Printing may be employed from the beginning, and made the means not only of teaching Orthography but English Composition, even in advance of what is technically called English Grammar. We have shown that Drawing may also be taught from the earliest period, and made to throw light upon many branches of study, while it trains the eye and hand to a degree of accuracy, which, for ordinary purposes, renders the use of instruments unneces-We now proceed to show that Arithmetic may also be made subservient to industry, and, of course, to discipline, not in the usual method of sending a child to work at his seat, but by using the slate or the blackboard under the teacher, if he is at leisure; or under a competent pupil, if the teacher is otherwise engaged.

Children at school devote more time to arithmetic than to any other study, and perhaps more than to all other branches united; and yet, no fact is more certain than that our best pupils are slow in performing the simplest operations in notation, numeration, addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. Now, we consider these the fundamental rules, beyond which no pupil should be allowed to advance, until he is exceedingly expert, prompt, accurate. Our statement in regard to the inability of children to perform the elementary rules will not be denied, when we assert that, to our certain knowledge, not one teacher in twenty can add a long column of figures

with any tolerable degree of ease and accuracy. We have tried the teachers assembled at every Institute that we have superintended, and in no one have one half of them been able to add correctly a single column of figures that amounted to over two hundred, even when ten minutes were allowed for the operation. Sometimes not more than eight or ten accomplished the task. Now, well-trained children should be able to add any column, that amounts to less than three hundred, in half a minute, and this is ample allowance for the work. For a general rule, children and teachers are more deficient in addition than in the other rules; but, in these, too, the defi-

ciency is remarkable.

The cause is so obvious that it can not be mistaken,—Neither pupils nor teachers get enough practice. Ciphering quietly from a book will not give it to the pupils, and looking at the Key to find the answer, will not give it to the teacher. The blackboard and the slate alone will give it, and it must be had where there is competition. We do not mean to assert that children should not be exercised in solitary labor, but we do mean to say, that the teacher should frequently exercise his classes in the elementary rules, by dictating figures for them to write, add, subtract, &c., he writing the same figures that he dictates, and adding or subtracting when the children do. If he ascertains the amount or answer beforehand, he will soon fall behind his pupils in despatch, and, therefore, he should always subject himself to the trouble of performing the operation, even at the risk of sometimes performing it wrong.

Besides the practice obtained under the teacher, every class may be exercised under pupils more advanced than themselves, and hundreds may be busily at work in the same room, without disturbing each other, or interrupting any recitation that may be going on under the teacher. Suppose the teacher to be about to give a lesson to a class in reading, during which he wishes the school to be employed, but silent. Let the classes be arranged before the blackboard, or, with slate in hand, around a monitor. If with a slate, the monitor can dictate the figures to be added, &c., in a whisper, and he can examine each slate, and mark it wrong or right, as the case may be, without saying a word. To encourage despatch, the first done should be allowed precedence, and, at the end of the lesson, some record should be made of the work done by each pupil. The best way to do this, on the slate, is as follows:-Let the teacher or monitor dictate a column of figures to be Let him add, if possible, before the class do, so as to be ready to mark their slates as they are presented. If the first that shows his slate has the right amount, let the teacher mark 1 on his slate, without saying a word. The next that

presents the correct answer, must be marked 2; the next, 3; and so on. On the slates of those whose answer is wrong, the letter w may be written. When all have been shown up, if the highest number marked is, say, 9, each of those who missed, being on equal footing, must be called 10. A new column is then given; the correct ones are numbered in the order of presentation as before; the incorrect are marked w, and they are numbered once higher than the last who added correctly. Each scholar preserves every number he receives, on the corner of his slate, and, after the lesson is ended, he adds up all the numbers he has received, and gives the amount to the teacher or monitor, who records it on the class-list against his name.

If the pupils bring up their work for examination before the teacher or monitor has added his, the first comer must stand next to the teacher, the second comer next to the first, and so on, not only to prevent disorder, but to enable justice to be done. It must be a rule, too, that no pupil who has thus gone into line, shall alter his work, and the penalty of doing so,

must be his going to the lower end of the line.

When the work is done on the blackboard, it may be done quietly in several ways. If the teacher wishes to make every one of the class work, he may dictate several sums to be added together, and give the chalk to the first who stands in the line to write the amount of the first column. If he writes correctly, he gives the chalk to the next. If he errs, the teacher erases the figure he has set under the second column; the chalk is given to the third, and so on, not a word being uttered while the addition is going on.

Another method is, for the teacher to write the sum on the board, and let the first who holds up his hand take the chalk, and write the proper figure under the first column. If right, he goes to the head; if wrong, the one nearest to the head, whose hand is up takes the chalk, and, if right, goes to the head. A new column is taken, and the same course pursued, until each has written an answer, the head not being applied to, unless those, who had not recorded any amount correctly, fail entirely. When a wrong figure is set down, the teacher or

monitor rubs it out, without saying a word.

A still more active method is, to give a piece of chalk to each pupil, and when the sum is set, let each set the amount under the proper column as fast as he pleases, the teacher erasing all figures that are wrong. To keep a record of the work done by each pupil, the best plan is to lay a number of counters, of tin, or paper, near the blackboard, and let each, as he writes a figure correctly, pick up a counter. At the end of the lesson, the number that each has picked up must be recorded on the class-list.

No child is so far advanced that he does not need practice of this kind, and no one should be excused from it. Indeed, no one will desire to be excused, for it will very soon be apparent that those who do not practice must fall below their companions. All that we have said of addition may be applied to the other elementary rules, and, indeed, to the more advanced rules; but great expertness in the six rules we have mentioned, is the best preparation for the higher rules, and as these lower rules require but little head-work, the practice of them may safely be entrusted to monitors.

EXAMINATION OF TEACHERS, &c.

It will be seen in the following extract from the Third Report of the late Secretary of the Maine Board of Education, that he has been endeavouring to raise the standard of teachers, by recommending a more thorough examination of them. As the method he proposed differs a little from other plans, and as the result of the experiment may be of service to school Committees, we give all that is said on the subject.

"In my Report of last year, I recommended to committees, two changes in the mode of examining teachers, one of which was, that all the teachers to be employed in a town should be examined in public, and, so far as practicable, at the same time; the other, that the examination should be conducted by written questions, to be answered by the candidates in writing, instead of the usual oral method. The communications which I have received from the committees in a large number of the towns, where the recommendation was adopted, apprise me of the result of the experiment, and, as this constitutes a portion of what has been done by school officers, I submit it under this title.

The attempt to secure the attendance of the whole, or even the majority of the teachers employed for the winter schools in any one town, at the same time and place, for the purpose of examination, has almost uniformly failed; and the cause assigned in every instance is, the neglect of Agents to employ teachers until almost the last moment before the day fixed for the opening of the school. This neglect, and the circumstance of the schools' commencing at different times, frequently several weeks apart, have rendered it impossible for the committee to fix a day when any considerable number of teachers could be found who were conditionally engaged, and

waiting for examination. They have consequently been compelled to yield their own convenience, and the benefits which it is believed would result from adopting the mode recommended, to the convenience, or, rather, the negligence of The attempt to secure a general attendance of those engaged in the summer schools has been more successful, from the fact that those schools usually commence in all the districts at about the same time in the year, and the teachers employed are, therefore, ready for examination together. From the committee in one town, containing fourteen school districts, I learn, that by the mode recommended, the examination of all the teachers employed for the fourteen summer schools, was completed at two sessions; the examination of the same number of teachers, the year preceding, in the usual, and, perhaps, the more popular mode, occupied a portion of ten several days. The saving, in time, to the committee, under the new system, was eight days, and to the town, in money, the sum of twenty-four dollars; a sum, which at the rate of wages paid in the town, if expended in the support of schools, would have added ten days in length to every school taught, "Our tax-payers," says the gentleman from whom the communication containing the foregoing statement of facts comes, "entertain a very exalted opinion of the new mode." It is not singular that they do. It is time that the tax-payers began to take a deeper interest in the management of school affairs, and in the disbursement of school funds.

In relation to the other change proposed, the partial substitution of written for oral examination, I am also in receipt of communications from numerous towns in which it has been adopted. Committees speak of it as a "sore affliction" to a certain class of candidates, but as "very satisfactory" to themselves. I have heard the objection made to this mode, that, where it is adopted, it is difficult to procure the requisite number of teachers to supply the schools. I am unable to discover the connection between the cause and its effect, unless it be, that incompetent teachers shrink from submitting themselves to the searching examination which this method contemplates, and that the number of competent teachers is not yet sufficient; -no competent teacher would fear it. The fact, if it be one, I regard as a recommendation rather than an objection. If the method proposed will answer no other purpose than to deter those who are unqualified from engaging in the calling, it is well worth the trial."

The excellent Secretary expressed, in strong terms, the opinion, which prevails also in the minds of the best friends of Common Schools in Massachusetts, that the office of School Agent or Prudential Committee man, as now administered, is

an impediment to the progress of the schools. We trust that if the Legislature does not annul the law, the towns will do it, by empowering their General Committee to take the entire charge of the schools. The extract follows.

"I wish it were in my power to make an equally favourable report of the doings of School Agents, but the complaints and facts, which are continually brought to my knowledge. will not justify it. Favoritism in the selection of teachers,the employment of those who are destitute of the certificates required by statute, -omission to make suitable provision for the comfort and convenience of teacher and scholars,-refusal to co-operate with school committees,-all go to make up the catalogue of derelictions of duty with which too large a proportion of this body of school officers have been, for a long time, and still are charged; with how much justice, the people, to whom they are amenable, must decide. The correction of the evil, wherever it exists, is in their hands.-School districts may remedy it, by electing to the office disinterested, highminded men. Towns may remedy it, by availing themselves of the statutory provisions, and investing their Superintending Committee with the rights, powers and obligations pertaining to the office of School Agent. the mode of escape from a difficulty is so obvious, and may so easily be resorted to, those who neglect to avail themselves of it have no cause for complaint if they meet with little sympathy."

The Report asserts that "the number of teachers who attended the Institutes last year was about half of the whole number engaged in teaching during any portion of the year." When will Massachusetts be able to say any thing like this? After commending those teachers who have used their own means and those afforded by the State for self-culture, and due preparation for their noble employment, the Secretary gives the following description of a remnant, which it is hardly an object to attempt to save.

"In this brief review of what has been done by teachers, it will be understood, of course, that I speak of a portion, a respectable portion of that numerous class. Of the remaining portion, I have no words of commendation or encouragement to offer. I regard the case of that teacher as hopeless, who, under the existing state of public feeling, through wilful obstinacy or indifference, refrains from uniting with his fellows in the noble work of self-culture. The experience of the past year has established the fact that there are many such within the borders of our State. I have had the curiosity to make somewhat extended investigations, with a view to an

analysis of the motive by which they are actuated, and have arrived at a result, which, although satisfactory in a philosophical, is far from being so in a moral point of view. conceit, ignorance, parsimony, indifference,-these are the elements which, combined in different proportions in different cases, make up the motive by which too many of the professed teachers of our common schools have been controlled and directed. It is this which has kept them away from our Institutes and Associations; which has attached them, by a species of magnetic influence, to antiquated text-books and modes of instruction well-nigh obsolete; closed their eyes against the light of the day now dawning, and wrapped them closer and closer in intellectual darkness, which they have made more hideous with their senseless hootings against, what they arrogantly style, visionary schemes and innovations. What have they done during the past year, to promote the interests of education? Nothing,-worse than nothing. They have hung like a dead weight upon every effort which has been made to raise the standard of the teacher's qualifications. They have clung to the noble profession to which they have attached themselves, as the lichen clings to the forest tree, neither strengthening nor beautifying, but defiling it."

We shall make another extract or two from this valuable and well written Report, and we cannot forbear expressing our regret that Mr. Crosby has found it "writ down in his duty" to follow the example of his able coadjutors, Mann of Massachusetts, Barnard of Rhode Island, and Haddock of New Hampshire. We cannot afford to lose their experience, although we may have full confidence in the zeal and ability of their successors.

A FEW SHORT YEARS.

BY AGNES SMITH.

A few short years,—and then
What changes Time hath wrought!
So strange they seem, we scarce can deem
The world, our life, ourselves, are aught
But one long, fitful dream.
The clouds that fly
Across the sky,
Waves tossed upon the sea,
Shadows that pass
Before a glass,
Our fitting emblems be.

A few short years,—and then
Where are the hopes that shone,
When youth with flowers enwreathed the hours,
And earth had but one music tone
Of joy for us and ours?

The rainbow hues,
The morning dews,
The blossoms of a day,
The trembling sheen
On water seen,
More stable are than they.

A few short years,—and then
Where is the adamant chain
That passion wrought, and madly thought
Nor time nor change could ever strain,
Till life's last strife was fought?

A rope of sand,
A gossamer band;
The filmy threads at e'en
The spider weaves
Amongst the leaves
A firmer bond had been.

A few short years,—and then
Where is Ambition's pile,
That rose so high against the sky,
O'ershadowing all around the while,
With its proud boast might vie?
A shadow's shade,
A card-house, made
By children for their play;
The air blown bells
That folly swells
May vaunt a surer stay.

A few short years,—and then
Where is thy mighty grief
That wrung the heart with torture's art,
And made it feel that no relief
Time's hand could e'er impart?
A storm that's burst,
And done its worst,
Then left the heaven more clear;
A night-mare dread,
With morning fled,
These sorrows now appear.

A few short years,—and then
What of our life remains,
The smiles and tears of other years,
Of passion's joys, of sorrow's pains,
Ambition's bopes and fears?
A faded dream
To-day they seem,
Which memory scarce can trace,—
But seals they've set
Shall Time nor yet
Eternity efface!

UNIVERSAL PEACE-THE PARIS CONVENTION.

As the end of all education is the improvement and happiness of man, and as nothing can so effectually promote this end, and bring on the kingdom of Heaven, as the establishment of Universal Peace, we know not how we can do a greater good than to republish the substance of the three principal addresses made at the opening of the late Peace Convention at Paris, to consider the question of the necessity and practicability of a Congress of Nations to adjust all national differences, and prevent recourse to what has generally been the first, though miscalled "the last argument of kings."

The Convention consisted, we are told, of about 1500 members, picked men from every Christian nation; men as fit to rule as any monarchs or ministers in the world; men who have no motive but benevolence, no object but the greatest good of our long suffering and wide wandering race. How the plain common sense arguments of Victor Hugo, "that Universal Peace is practicable,"—of Mr. Vincent, that "Arbitration is the only mode by which national differences ever have been or can be settled,"—and of Mr. Cobden, that "War is ridiculous," can be controverted, is more than we can perceive. We can only hope that the principles, which are the basis of these speeches, and the spirit which they breathe, will pervade our teachers, and be transfused into the minds and hearts of the rising generation.

We are told that Victor Hugo, the President of the Convention, on taking the Chair, made the following address:—

Gentlemen,—Many of you have come from the most remote quarters of the globe, your hearts full of religious and holy thoughts. You number in your ranks public men, philosophers, ministers of religion, eminent writers, and many of those public men who are the lights of their nation. You have wished to date from Paris the declarations of this assembly of convinced and serious men, who desire not only the welfare of one people, but also that of all nations. You have come to add to the principles, which at the present time influence statesmen, governors, and legislators,—a superior principle. You have come to turn over in some sort the first and most august prayer of the gospel, that which enjoins peace on the children of God; and in this city, which has hitherto only cheered the fraternity of citizens, you have come to proclaim the fraternity of men.

Gentlemen, we bid you a hearty welcome. Gentlemen, is this religious thought,—the UNIVERSAL PEACE of all nations, bound to one another by a social bond,—not of the gospel?

Is this idea capable of realization? Many political men reply, no! As for myself, I reply with you, without hesitation, yes! (Loud applause.) And I shall try to prove the truth of my statement immediately. But I go farther. I not only say that it is an object capable of being realized, but that it is inevitable; all that can be done is to hasten or retard its consummation. The law of the world is not and can not be distinct from the law of God. But the law of God is not war, but peace. Men begin with struggles, just as creation commenced with chaos. Whence do they come? Evidently from war. Whither are they going? To peace. When you affirm these lofty truths, it is quite plain that your affirmation will meet with negation, your faith with incredulity; that, in this hour of our troubles and of our commotions, the idea of universal peace will surprise and alarm every one as being the apparition

of something impossible and ideal.

It is quite possible that our views will be called Utopian; and as far as concerns myself, an humble and obscure laborer in the great work of the nineteenth century, I accept this opposition without being either astonished or discouraged by it. Is it possible for you to prevent people turning aside their heads and closing their dazzled eyes, when, in the midst of the thick darkness which still surrounds us, you suddenly open the radiant gate of the future? If any one, gentlemen, four centuries ago, during the time when commune waged war against commune, town against town, and province against province; if any one had said to Lorraine, to Picardy, to Normandy, to Bretagne, to Auvergne, to Provence, to Dauphiny, to Burgundy,—A day will come when you will no longer make war,—when men will no longer bear arms one against the other,—when it will no longer be said, "The Normans have attacked Picardy," or "The men of Lorraine have beaten the Burgundians," you will still have many difficulties to arrange, many interests to discuss, many disputes to settle; but do you know what you will put in the place of armed men? of infantry and cavalry? of cannon and falconets? of lances, pikes, and swords? You will put in the place of all these a little wooden box, which you will call the balloting box, and from that box will proceed an assembly, an assembly in which you will feel that you all live, which will act as a soul to all of you, a sovereign and popular council, which will decide, will judge, will settle all questions; which will make the sword fall from the hands of all, and justice rise in every heart; which will say to each man, "Here ends thy right, there begins thy duty!" Lay down your arms! live in peace! and on that day you will feel that you have one common thought, a common interest, a common destiny; you will em-

brace one another, you will recognize one another as children of the same blood and of the same race. On that day you will cease to be hostile tribes; you will be a people; you will no longer be Burgundy, Provence, Normandy, Brittany,-you will be France! Appeals will no longer be made to war, but to civilization! (Loud applause.) If, at the period I allude to, such words had been uttered, all men of serious character, and all great politicians of that day would have exclaimed,-What a dream! what ignorance of the human heart! what folly! Time, however, has gone on, and this dream, this folly, have been realized. Well, you say at the present day, and I join with you in saying it, all of us here present speak to France, to England, to Prussia, to Austria, to Spain, to Italy, to Russia, and say, "A day will come when arms will fall from your hands also; when war will appear as absurd, and will be as impossible between Paris and London, between Vienna and Turin, or between St. Petersburg and Berlin, as it would now appear absurd between Rouen and Amiens, or between Boston and Philadelphia." A day will come when France, Russia, Italy, England, Germany, all the nations of the Continent, without losing your distinguishing characteristics, and your glorious identity, will be merged into a superior unity, and will form a European fraternity, just as Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Lorraine, Alsace, have been blended into The day will come when the only battle-field shall be the market open to commerce, and to the new ideas of the mind. A day will come when bullets and shells will be replaced by votes, by universal suffrage, and by the arbitration of a great sovereign senate, which shall be to Europe what the Parliament is to England, or the Diet to Germany, or the Legislative Assembly to France. (Loud applause.) The time will come when a cannon will be exhibited as an old instrument of torture, and wonder expressed how such a thing could have been used. A day, I say, will come, when the United States of America and the United States of Europe will be seen extending to each other the hand of fellowship across the ocean, and when we shall have the happiness of seeing everywhere arising the majestic radiation of universal concord.

It is our precautions against war that have brought about revolutions. All has been done, all expended against an imaginary danger. Misery,—the real danger,—has thus been aggravated. Nevertheless, gentlemen, let us not despair; on the contrary, let us hope more than ever; let us only regard our epoch in its proper light. After all, it is a prodigious and admirable epoch, and the nineteenth century will constitute the most important page of history. One kind of progress

brings on another; the fall of national animosities, the obliteration of frontiers from the map, and of prejudices from the heart; a tendency to unity and the level of education, the predominance of the most literary languages,—all move at the same time, and converge to the same end,—the creation of well-being and good-will,—the extinction of misery at home and war abroad. (*Immense applause*.) Yes, the era of revolutions is drawing to a close, and that of improvement is beginning. The improvement of nations leaves its violent form and takes a peaceable one. The time is come when Providence will substitute, for the disorderly action of agitators, the religious and calm action of peace-makers. (*Loud*

applause.)

Henceforward the object of true politics will be the restoration of the historical unity of the people, the connection of each country with civilization by means of peace,—the incessant enlargement of the civilized world, the giving of a good example to nations that are still barbarous,—the substitution of arbitration for battles,—and, to crown the whole, the utterance by justice of what the ancient world uttered by force. Gentlemen, I say in conclusion, and let this thought encourage us, is it not to-day that the human race is traversing this providential road? In our old Europe, England has taken the first step, and has said to the people, You are free! France has taken the second step, and said to the people, You are sovereign! Now let us take the third step, and let France, England, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Europe, and America, all unite in saying to the people, You are brethren! [Immense applause followed this address. Three cheers were repeated over and over again; and at last three hurras were given in the English fashion.]

HENRY VINCENT, Esq., rose, and was greeted with loud He said: I am so overwhelmed at the sight of this magnificent meeting, that nothing but a strong desire to call upon you to adhere closely to the resolution under discussion could have induced me to address you at this time. however, omit the opportunity of expressing the delight I feel in witnessing the triumphant advancement of our righteous cause. (Cheers.) We are in the civilized and polite city of Paris,—and it is fitting we should be here,—we, who are a portion of the old Saxon race,—and we love our French brethren,-(great cheering)-and wish to bring about that union between the two nations that shall promote the interests of peace and civilization throughout the globe. (Loud cheering.) We come to give a practical direction to the floating sentiments in favor of peace, and to adopt a policy that shall command the respect and support of all the friends of human

improvement. (Loud cheers.)

There are many here,—and I am one,—who regard war to be not only a great curse, but an open resistance to all the morality and spirit of the Christian religion. (Repeated cheers.) There are others, whom we highly esteem, who oppose war from commercial and financial motives, and from impulses of a philanthropic nature; and this Congress seeks to combine these great elements of social power, and to guide them into the channels of practical usefulness. (Cheers.) The Arbitration question is the first upon which we wish to fix your attention. (Hear! hear!) We wish the quarrels of governments to be settled without an appeal to arms, and we think

there is nothing Utopian in this wish. (Cheers.)

Now, I caution you against discussing probabilities and difficulties, that may or may not occur, in the present state of public opinion. It is because difficulties exist that we are assembled in this Congress. Our design is to convince the governments and peoples, that "arbitration" is more Christian, more humane, and more economical than war. (Cheers.) This sentiment, once created and diffused, will soon devise the most effective method for accomplishing its object. I do not think, as some do, that we must necessarily discuss the details of our system here. That is the business of a smaller meeting. (Hear, hear.) Our duty is simply to demonstrate the value of our principles; and whenever governments are disposed to adopt them, other difficulties will immediately vanish. (Cheers.) And may we not appeal to some extent to the practice of nations, civilized and savage? Arbitration always exists in one form or another; but it is seldom used in time. (Hear, hear.) I ask the illustrious orators and senators around me, whether war ever settled a single dispute? (Loud cries of "Hear! hear!") War complicates a quarrel, extinguishes a sense of justice, inflames old national animosities, creates new antipathies, enkindles unholy passions, wastes the resources of (Loud cheering.) But arbitration must commence before peace can be restored. (Cheers.)

We say, therefore, that arbitration should precede war, not follow it. (Loud cheers.) We say that, if a small proportion of the efforts expended in war were expended upon the policy of arbitration, our victory would be complete. Our progress, too, is so encouraging that we have the strongest faith in our future success. Already in the National Assembly of France, and in the Parisian press, are voices raised in response to our own. (Hear, hear.) In the British Parliament, our distinguished countryman, Richard Cobden, (loud cheering,) raised this question amid general sympathy. In spite of sneers from a few, he succeeded in fixing the idea in the mind of parliament, and in securing for it the most respectful attention at

the hands of the existing ministry. (Loud cheers.) And I, who know something of the spread of public opinion, know of no cause that has lately made more way in England than this.

(Loud cheers.)

Encouraged by what we have done, let us advance. this great Congress influence our zeal. Let those who believe in the essential sinfulness of all war, rejoice with me in the rapid diffusion of our principles, and in the fact, that the great moral, unsectarian truths of the gospel are at the basis of this movement-(loud cheers), and see how all the intellectual and material influences of the age are working with us. Education aids in the work of civilization, and makes inroads upon the dominion of brute force. Science, in ministering to the wants and comforts of man, aids us in our great endeavor. The free-trade policy, that everywhere grows in public esteem, calls the commercial and industrious spirit to our side. The steam-power, that wafted us in one day from London to Paris, is our friend—(cheers)—it breaks down the barriers of distance and time,-it runs nation into nation, annihilating and scattering national hatreds around it. (Loud Cheering.) Be cheerful, then; all modern influences are with us; and this Congress will aid in blending the moral power of France and England together, until these great nations are united in the holy resolve to give, by the force of their example and teaching, civilization and peace to the world. (Loud cheer-We shall surmount all difficulties and conquer all prejudices, and enter even the true Utopia, by basing all our aspirations upon the laws of God, and upon the progressive characteristics of our noble race. (Mr. Vincent resumed his seat amid loud and repeated cheering.)

R. COBDEN, Esq., was received with loud cheers and waving of hats. He spoke in French as follows:—M. le President—I join with all my heart in the wish expressed by one of the speakers, that we could have an universal language. Nevertheless, I am a little afraid that there might be a dispute, even among the friends of peace, as to which of the thousand dialects of the world ought to prevail, and that oceans of ink, at least, would be shed before it was decided. (Laughter, and cheers.) In the meantime let every country enjoy in peace its own dictionary and grammar; and it is on this principle, recollecting that I am in the metropolis of France, that I prefer to throw myself upon the well-known politeness of a French audience, whilst I address to them a few words in broken French, rather than be guilty of an act of foreign intervention—(loud cheers), even in the matter of

language.

So much has been said, and so well said, by the eloquent

speakers who have preceded me, that I do not feel it necessary to add a word to the general argument; but I should wish to draw your attention for a moment to the manner in which the governments of your country and mine have augmented their standing armaments, in mutual rivalry and defiance of each other. I speak only of our navy and coast defences, for we do not pretend to enter into a competition with you in respect to your army. Do not be alarmed, Mr. President. I am not going to infringe upon the wise regulations of this Congress, which forbid our alluding to the politics of the day. Unfortunately, my grievance extends back for many years, and implicates several ministers in both countries, although your present government must certainly be exempted from all responsibility in the matter. Now, during the last thirteen years, you and we have been constantly increasing our navies, adding to our coast defences, enlarging our arsenals, building new basins for steam vessels, and constructing fresh harbors of refuge. No sooner is the keel of another line of battle-ship laid down in your dock-yards, than forthwith fresh hammers begin to resound at Portsmouth. (Laughter and cheers.) A new forge has hardly begun to work at Cherbourg, when immediately the sparks are seen to fly from fresh anvils at Plymouth, and vice versa. The consequence has been, that the cost of our navies has been increased fifty per cent. in time of peace. My first objection to this is its supreme folly—(loud applause), for, as both countries increase their naval strength in equal proportion, neither party has gained anything by the change, the only result being a pure waste to the amount of the augmentation. (Cheers.)

My next objection is to the extreme hypocrisy—(laughter) of this system; for, at the very time that all this increase of armament has been going on, our respective govornments have been exchanging assurances of mutual feelings of friend-ship—(loud laughter and cheering)—and good will. If these professions were made in sincerity and truth, where was the necessity for more ships of war and more coast defences? An individual does not cover himself with armour in the presence of his friends, unless indeed he happens to be mad.

(Laughter.)

But my greatest objection to these vast armaments is, that they tend to excite dangerous animosities between the two nations,—(cheers)—and to perpetuate fear, hatred and suspicion,—passions which find their gratification instinctively in war. And here is the great reason why this Congress desires, in the terms of the motion before it, to bring the nations into a system of disarmament. Now, how shall this be accomplished? Why, by teaching our respective govern-

ments this little arithmetical problem, of which, in times past, they seem to have been ignorant,—that if two nations are both armed, in a time of peace, up to a certain point, say 6, they are not relatively stronger than if their armaments stood both at 3; and that they would be equally strong, relatively, it they disarmed altogether. (Loud cheers.) But you, the tax-payers of France, will see that there is an immense differ-

ence to your pockets. (Laughter.)

Do not, however, let us deceive ourselves with the idea, that we shall easily succeed in teaching this little arithmetical lesson to our governments. I speak from long experience when I say, that no men are so difficult to teach as professional statesmen. (Laughter and loud cheers.) They are so devoted to routine, and so fortified in self-sufficiency, that they do not easily believe that any wisdom exists in the world, excepting that which radiates from their bureaux. (Laughter and cheers.) Do you suppose, then, that they will listen readily to the advice of this Congress? On the contrary, they are at this moment laughing at us as Utopists, theorists and dreamers. (Laughter.) And yet I think the result of their system, in a financial point of view, ought to make them more modest. (Cheers.)

Ask the governments of Europe. can you continue your

present financial system for ten years longer? With scarcely one exception, they must answer, "No!" Is it then Utopian on the part of the Congress to arouse their attention to the subject, to point out the great gulf which yawns before them, to show that the danger of financial ruin, which they lose sight of, is far more imminent than the risk of foreign attack, which they so constantly dread, and so diligently provide Even in this, the lowest point of (Applause.) against. view, as a question merely of finance, you stand justified before the world for holding this Congress of nations. It is time that the people interfered, and the governments of the world ought to tender you their thanks for having, by this fraternal shaking of hands across the Atlantic and the channel, -(loud cheers)-facilitated that process of disarmament, which is called for alike upon every principle of humanity and sound policy. (Loud and repeated cheering.)

All Communications, Newspapers, and Periodicals, for the Editor, should be addressed to Wm. B. Fowle, Editor, Boston.

THE COMMON SCHOOL JOURNAL is regularly published, semi-monthly, by LEMUEL N IDE, 1384 Washington-street, up stairs, (opposite School street,) Boston. Price, One Dollar a year, payable in advance.]